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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-10 XMB-02 AID-05 CEA-01 CIAE-00

COME-00 EB-07 FRB-03 INR-07 NSAE-00 CIEP-01 SP-02

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FM AMEMBASSY LONDON

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INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

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E.O. 11652: N/A TAGS: UK, PINT

SUBJECT: EC REFERENDUM CAMPAIGN: A GENERAL WRAP-UP

BEGIN SUMMARY: PRO-MARKETEERS ENTER THE LAST THREE WEEKS OF THE REFERENDUM CAMPAIGN APPARENTLY WELL IN THE LEAD. THEY HAVE BIGGER STARS, MORE MONEY, AND SUPERIOR ORGANILIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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ZATIONAL SUPPORT. THEY ENJOY BETTER MEDIA COVERAGE.

OUT OF ANXIETY OVER THE FUNDAMENTAL CLEAVAGE WITHIN THE LABOR MOVEMENT, MANY TRADE UNIONS AND LABOR CONSTITUENCIES PARTIES ARE REMAINING NEUTRAL, WHEREAS MOST OF THE TORY AND LIBERAL PARTY ORGANIZATIONS ARE MOBILIZING TO GET OUT A FAVORABLE VOTE. THE CELTIC FRINQE OF THE UK IS LIKELY TO OPPOSE EC MEMBERSHIP, BUT NOT BY AS WIDE A MARGIN AS HAD BEEN FEARED. THE ISSUES HAVE BEEN DEBATED TO DEATH, NOT JUST FOR THE PAST MONTH OR PAST YEAR, BUT FOR MORE THAN A DECADE. EXCEPT FOR COMMITTED PARTISANS ON BOTH SIDES, MOST VOTERS ARE WEARY OF THE SUBJECT AND DISPOSED TO FOLLOW THE LEAD OF THOSE PUBLIC FIGURES THEY MOST RESPECT AND TRUST. UNLESS THERE IS A MIGHTY BACKLASH AGAINST THE ESTABLISHMENT IN THE CLOSING DAYS OF THE CAMPAIGN, THE VOTE ON JUNE 5 PROMISES TO GO SOLIDLY IN FAVOR OF CONTINUED MEMBERSHIP. END SUMMARY.

- 1. AS THE EC REFERENDUM CAMPAIGN SWINGS INTO ITS FINAL THREE WEEKS -- THE PERIOD USUALLY ALLOTTED FOR GENERAL ELECTION CAMPAIGNS -- THERE IS A WIDESPREAD EXPECTATION, REINFORCED BY THE OPINION POLLS, THAT THE VOTE ON JUNE 5 WILL PRODUCE A DECISIVE YES. PRO-MARKETEERS ARE OPTIMISTIC BUT NOT OVER CONFIDENT. LIKE THEIR OPPONENTS, THEY ARE GEARED FOR AN ALL-OUT CAMPAIGN RIGHT UP TO POLLING DAY.
- 2. THEIR EFFORTS THUS FAR HAVE BEEN SPEARHEADED BY AN ALLIANCE OF POPULAR CABINET MINISTERS (E.G., JENKINS, WILLIAMS, LEVER) AND OPPOSITION LEADERS (E.G., THATCHER, WHITELAW, THORPE). THESE AND OTHER CELEBRITIES APPEAR TOGETHER AND SINGLY AT PUBLIC RALLIES, GIVE TV INTERVIEWS, WRITE NEWSPAPER ARTICLES, AND OTHERWISE LEND THEIR CON-SIDERABLE PRESTIGE TO THE CAUSE OF STAYING IN EUROPE. TED HEATH HAS BEEN STRENUOUSLY ACTIVE AS WELL, IN WHAT MANY CONSIDER HIS BEST POLITICAL FORM IN YEARS. THE GOVERNMENT'S BIG THREE (WILSON, CALLAGHAN, HEALEY) HAVE YET TO TAKE TO THE HUSTINGS. THE VIGOR OF THEIR ENGAGE-MENT IN THE CLOSING WEEKS OF THE CAMPAIGN WILL PROBABLY BE BASED ON A FINE CALCULATION OF THE NEED TO SECURE A POSITIVE VOTE BALANCED AGAINST A DESIRE NOT TO MAKE THE POST-REFERENDUM TASK OF RESTORING THE UNITY OF THE LABOR LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PARTY ANY MORE DIFFICULT THAN NECESSARY.

3. LEADING PERSONALITIES ASIDE, THE PRO-EC CAMPAIGN CAN DRAW ON IMPRESSIVE RESOURCES OF MONEY AND TALENT FROM THE WORLD OF BUSINESS AND FINANCE. A HIGHLY PAID AMERICAN MEDIA EXPERT HAS BEEN BROUGHT OVER TO PUT TOGETHER A SERIES OF FOUR TEN-MINUTE TV CAMPAIGN BROADCASTS BEGINNING MAY 22. AUTO BUMPER STICKERS ARE PROLIFERATING. THE ENTIRE PRO-MARKET CAMPAIGN GIVES THE IMPRESSION OF

BEING WELL-FINANCED AND CAREFULLY ORCHESTRATED.

4. THE ANTI-MARKET CAMP, ON THE OTHER HAND, PRESENTS A MORE EMBATTLED IMAGE, LONG ON GRITTY DETERMINATION TO OVERCOME THE ODDS. THE BURDEN OF ITS CAMPAIGN HAS BEEN BORNE BY A FEW DISSIDENT CABINET MEMBERS (MOST NOTABLY TONY BENN AND PETER SHORE), A FEW LEFT-WING TRADE UNION LEADERS (E.G., CLIVE JENKINS), THE BROODING ENOCH POWELL, AND AN ASSORTMENT OF LESSER KNOWN POLITICAL FIGURES. ONE OF THE MOST ELOQUENT OF THE ANTI-MARKETEERS, MICHAEL FOOT, HAS BEEN OUT OF ACTION DUE TO HOSPITALIZATION FOR MINOR SURGERY, BUT WILL RETURN FOR THE GRAND FINALE. MOST OF THE TRADE UNIONS, HAVING GONE ON RECORD AS FAVORING WITHDRAWAL FROM THE EC, ARE STANDING APART. THEIR FINAN-

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CIAL CONTRIBUTIONS ARE MODEST, AND EXCEPT POSSIBLY IN SCOTLAND, FEW OF THEM ARE GIVING ORGANIZATIONAL SUPPORT TO THE ANTI-EC CAMPAIGN. CONSCIOUS OF THE PROFOUND CLEAVAGE WITHIN THE BROAD LABOR MOVEMENT, THEY ARE RELUCTANT TO OPEN UP DISSENTION WITHIN THEIR OWN RANKS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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OR TO EXACERBATE RELATIONS WITH A LABOR GOVERNMENT.

- 5. BY THE SAME TOKEN, LABOR MPS, AGAIN WITH A FEW EXCEPTIONS (SUCH AS ERIC HEFFER AND IAN MIKARDO), ARE CAREFUL TO CONDUCT THEIR DEBATE WITH RESTRAINT. LEFT-WINGERS IN PARTICULAR GROW INCREASINGLY RESTIVE AS THEY SENSE THE ODDS LENGTHENING AGAINST THEM, AND MUTTER ABOUT RETALIATING AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT ON OTHER ISSUES (E.G., ECONOMIC POLICY), BUT IN FACT THEY HAVE NO OTHER PLACE TO GO -- WHICH ONLY AGGRAVATES THEIR FRUSTRATION.
- 6. THE MEDIA HAVE GIVEN SUBSTANTIAL COVERAGE TO THE CAMPAIGN THUS FAR AND PLAN EVEN MORE COVERAGE AND SPECIAL FEATURES IN THE REMAINING WEEKS. MOST NEWSPAPERS AND ALL THE TV CHANNELS HAVE SCRUPULOUSLY SOUGHT TO GIVE EQUAL SPACE AND TIME TO BOTH SIDES FOR THE FORMAL PRESENTATION OF THEIR VIEWS (IN SPECIAL ARTICLES, INTERVIEWS, LETTERS TO THE EDITOR, ETC.), BUT EDITORIALLY THEY REMAIN OVERWHELMINGLY PRO-EC, AND THEIR STRAIGHT NEWS COVERAGE TENDS TO REFLECT THIS BIAS.
- 7. THE ISSUES THEMSELVES (SOVEREIGNTY, FOOD PRICES, BRITAIN'S ABILITY OR INABILITY TO GO IT ALONE, ETC.), HAVE ALL BEEN DEBATED TO DEATH. THERE IS NOTHING NEW TO SAY, AND BOTH SIDES FIND IT DIFFICULT TO AROUSE THE ELECTORATE. THE PROSPECT OF ANOTHER THREE WEEKS OF THIS TIRESOME BUSINESS IS ENOUGH TO MAKE MOST VOTERS, TO SAY NOTHING OF FOREIGN OBSERVERS, DESPAIR. MANY VOTERS MADE UP THEIR MINDS ABOUT THE EC YEARS AGO AND HAVE BEEN IMMUNE TO PERSUASION EVER SINCE. MANY MORE HAVE NEVER UNDERSTOOD THE ISSUES AND DON'T UNDERSTAND THEM NOW. IN SCOTLAND THE LINEUP IS COMPLICATED BY DISAGREEMENT AMONG

SCOTTISH NATIONALISTS OVER WHETHER WITHDRAWAL WOULD AID OR HINDER THEIR CAUSE, AND IN NORTHERN IRELAND BY SECTARIAN HOSTILITY AND SHEER APATHY BROUGHT ON BY A SURFEIT OF ELECTIONS. OTHERWISE, HOWEVER, MOST UNCOMMITTED VOTERS ARE LIKELY TO FOLLOW THE LEAD OF THE PUBLIC FIGURES THEY MOST RESPECT AND TRUST. BARRING A LATE AND MASSIVE POPULAR REVULSION AGAINST THE ESTABLISHMENT, THAT MUST POINT ON PRESENT FORM TO A SOLID VOTE ON JUNE 5 IN FAVOR OF STAYING IN THE EC. THE RESULTS ARE EXPECTED TO LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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BE KNOWN BY FRIDAY EVENING, JUNE 6.

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Subject: EC REFERENDUM CAMPAIGN: A GENERAL WRAP-UP BEGIN SUMMARY: PRO-MARKETEERS ENTER THE LAST THREE WEEKS

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